Chapter 13

Alternative Futures for Cross-cultural Counseling and Psychotherapy

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Before we were born, culturally institutionalized patterns of thought and action were already prepared to guide our ideas, make many of our decisions, and take control of our lives. Culture was our inheritance from our parents and teachers who taught us the "rules of the game." Only later sometimes much later, sometimes never, did we learn that our culture was one of the many possible patterns of thinking and acting from which we could choose. By that time, most of us had already come to believe that our culture was the best of all possible worlds. Even if we recognized that traditional values were false or inadequate when challenged by the stress of radical social change, it was not always possible to replace the worn-out habits with the new alternatives.

There is a relevant story told by Claudio Naranjo (1972), a Chilean psychiatrist studying 150 different methodologies concerned with ways of personal growth. The story concerns four travelers—a Persian, a Turk, an

Arab, and a Greek—who were debating how to spend their last coin. "I want *angur*," said the Persian, but the Turk insisted that *uzum* was what he wanted, while the Arab argued for *inab*, and the Greek for *stafil*. A man came along, and, hearing their heated discussion, offered to buy what each wanted if they would only agree to give him the coin. The men distrusted him, but finally agreed to give him the coin. When the passerby, who was a linguist, bought a small bunch of grapes for each of them, the Persian, the Turk, the Arab, and the Greek were surprised and delighted to receive their "*angur-uzum-inab-stafil*." In Naranjo's interpretation, he points out that we all want the same goal of a "good life" but call it different names and insist on our own different ideas about where to find it, arguing for our own interpretation. Adjustment rather than liberation has become the theme of counseling and psychotherapy.

There are some clear indications that we are becoming more aware of the role of cultural alternatives in our mental health services, however. In the Report to the President from the President's Commission on Mental Health (1978) the authors point out how mental health services have been inadequate to meet the bicultural and bilingual needs of minority groups in this country. Likewise, the Council of Representatives meeting of the American Psychological Association of January 1979 asserted that social and personal diversity of faculty and students are highly desirable as an essential goal if trainees in psychology are to function effectively within our pluralistic society. The APA Council of Representatives voted the following resolution at its January 1979 meeting:

> It is the sense of APA Council that APA accreditation reflect our concern that all psychology departments and schools should assure that their students receive preparation to function in a multi-cultural, multi-racial society. This implies having systematic exposure to and contact with a diversity of students, teachers and patients or clients, such as, for example, by special arrangement for interchange or contact with other institutions on a regular and organized basis [p.5].

Forecasting the role of cross-cultural counseling in the future requires taking into account the goals which are generated by people rather than imposed on them. These goals are heterogeneous, diverse, and changing all the time. The guiding of cultural change is particularly difficult because the future is neither observable nor can it be easily predicted by extrapolating from the past. Maruyama (1973) provides a typology of attitudinal orientations for studying the cultural aspects of future society which is helpful for locating the role of counseling. The study of futures is divided into three basic approaches.

The descriptive studies deal with trends in social change from the past and the present, deriving guidelines for the future from the past. Descriptive studies are helpful to the extent that we can avoid past mistakes and learn

from our errors but, otherwise, limited in helping us forecast the future.

The predictive studies tend to either extrapolate from the past rates of change and acceleration of change or speculate on the future effect of innovations without historical precedent. Predictive studies imply an inevitable course of events in which the person has very limited opportunity to respond.

The pragmatic studies look at what can and should be done to affect the direction of the future. Pragmatic studies are divided into three types: those which are reactive and conservatively defensive (e.g., how to preserve the old patterns, family structures), instrumental (how to use new tools for maintaining traditional institutions), or adaptive (how to modify culture to fit with technological changes). Those which are goal-generating ask what the goals of our society can be and, then, adapt technology toward achieving those goals in a humanistic liberal orientation. Adaptation may be either through a homogeneous design planned to emphasize our similarities or through a heterogeneous diversity of goals emphasizing diversities, differences, and the range of alternatives. The pragmatic studies of what can and should be done to affect the direction of social change seem to be the most promising in forecasting the future of cross-cultural counseling.

Before we consider the role of cross-cultural counseling, however, it is important to consider the three most popular alternatives for the future society in which that counseling would occur. Wilson (1979) suggests that we look at three scenarios to illustrate those alternatives, of an open, closed, or chaotic future.

THREE ALTERNATIVES FOR THE FUTURE

The three most frequently cited scenarios for the future are represented by the Club of Rome's (Mesarovic & Pestel, 1974) essentially pessimistic prediction of catastrophe, Robert Heilbronner's (1975) prediction of a closed society depending on authoritarian controls, and the Hazen Report (1972) of a more optimistic alternative for an open society in which modern society might successfully respond to the current crises.

The Second Report to the Club of Rome suggests that the world is headed toward a catastrophe, projecting current world problems in a consistently pessimistic trend. The only effective response suggested is world cooperation through a world economic order and global resource allocation system where nations and cultures would not be allowed to act independently of one another. The evidence is based on computer science technology and probability projections. The view of human nature considers man as self-destructive, able to act rationally and avoid the dangers of the future but

unlikely to do so, preferring short-range, immediate benefits to long-range survival goals. The view of freedom is limited and projects the human struggle against nature for survival. The view of culture is global, reducing the variables to computer data probabilities that prescribe the only alternative to be immediate world cooperation as a community of utopian proportions. The only possibility for survival would be immediate world cooperation and an abrupt, but unlikely, shift from the vested interests of nationalism and the special interests of other cultural groups.

Heilbronner suggests a second alternative, that our society is headed toward an authoritarian alternative, building his arguments on an economic perspective. The view of human nature is essentially Freudian where we lapse into a reliance on authority figures in the present crisis because of man's essentially selfish self-interest. The view of freedom is negative and self-destructive, with a need to identify sources of authoritarian control who will make the necessary decisions on behalf of mankind. The view of culture is essentially political, modifying the existing cultures toward a more unified model of universal synthesis in a nationalistic power structure where survival becomes the criterion of truth. Human progress offers the alternatives of power to determine our survival as a species and to protect us from ourselves as well as from one another.

The Hazen Foundation report suggests a third alternative that begins from a sociological and educational perspective, building on the resources of a culturally pluralistic and essentially open society. The view of human nature is humanistic and evolves toward solutions for the problems we create, assuming the ability and capability of humanity to make the necessary compromises with shared responsibility for survival. The view of freedom is positive, and we are able to identify appropriate responses to modify selfishness toward universal goals motivated by spiritual priorities. The view of culture is diverse and heterogeneous, rejecting universal world culture uniformity as destructive, incorporating alternative cultural traditions as resources in a cooperative effort through voluntarily limiting destructive tendencies. The emphasis is on interdependencies and relationships between cultural identities without destroying cultural diversity.

In the three scenarios for the future, there is a sharp contrast between the view of humanity as basically selfish, authority dominated, and self-destructive; or the view of humanity as creator, innovator, and concerned about the welfare of species. Heilbronner's scenario is based on an authoritarian political model in contrast with the Club of Rome's scientific computer model and the humanistic alternatives of the Hazen Report on our capacity to cope with the future at all.

All of the scenarios agree that, unless we alter our commitments to nationalism, science, industrialization, and the other familiar "habits" of

modernization which have taken over industrialized societies, we will not survive, at least not in our present form. First of all, we are confronted with a magnitude of problems that have created an immediate crisis requiring that we change our ways. Secondly, the problems are not institutional but the more basic elements of our own cultures which have created those institutions. If the problems of our immediate crisis are to be dealt with, there must be major changes in our cultural beliefs and values to provide the ultimate solutions to our problems (Fernandez, 1977). Cross-cultural counseling and psychotherapy has a role in making those changes.

Human futuristics is not a precise science, although there is a temptation in each of the scenarios to oversimply the variables. Engineers work from a goal where the variables are more clearly indentified while human needs are diverse and vary from individual to individual over time. The future crisis may seem more remote than it really is. In 1972, Goodman (1978) counted the predictions that Orwell made in his book *1984* and identified 137 specific predictions of scientific, technological, social, and political practices, discovering that 80 of those predictions had already been realized. Then, in 1978, returning to the same list he discovered that over 100 of the predictions had now come true. There is no doubt that the authoritarian regime of *1984* describes a future that is clearly possible in the near future.

There is a Messianic message in all three scenarios that reminds one of the Old Testament prophets, and the recurring crisis that has accompanied humanity throughout history. In our reponse, there is likewise a tendency to believe in a covenant favoring the most optimistic of the scenarios. Osgood calls that tendency "pollyannaism" (Triandis, 1979) where we find it easier to cognitively process affectively positive than affectively negative stimuli, accept congruent information, and reject incongruent information. It is important that we face our own future in realistic terms.

We know that our society is now in a condition of rapid social change which is accelerating and requiring more radical adaptation of our cultural habits. We also can well imagine that some of us will be unable to make the necessary adaptive changes to our own rapidly approaching future. Those who are unable to make the adjustment will not be able to survive the demands of the future culture. However, since the future is not knowable, how do we learn to adjust to the unknown? The answer would seem to be in the learning of process skills for adaptation to cultures and value systems different from our own which we *do* know and *can* study. Having rehearsed a variety of responses to different cultural value systems will provide the adaptive skills for coping with our own rapidly approaching future. The future of cross-cultural counseling would seem to be anchored in this task of increasing our adaptive ability and skill across cultural value systems, whichever scenario will finally describe our future.

INTERCULTURAL ADJUSTMENT TO THE FUTURE AS A FOREIGN CULTURE

Toffler (1971) popularized the process of adjustment to the future in the concept "future shock," building on the principles of culture shock as the process of adjustment and adaptation to a future culture different from our own. Oberg (1958) first used the term "culture shock" to describe the anxiety resulting from losing one's sense of when to do what and how. When the familiar cues are removed and strange or unfamiliar cues are substituted, as might happen when visiting a foreign culture, our response is likely to range from a vague sense of discomfort until we have learned the new expectations, all the way to a profound disorientation which requires a complete reorganization of our lives. Any new situation, such as a new job, new friends, new ideas, new neighborhood, will involve some adjustment of role and change of identity. The functions of counseling relate to helping persons successfully complete such adjustments in a variety of crisis situations. If we generalize the principles of culture shock to the role of cross-cultural counseling, we can identify guidelines for adjusting to the future through cross-cultural counseling.

There are many positive opportunities to learn through culture shock in adjusting to other cultures. Like every other kind of learning, culture learning involves change and movement from one frame of reference to another. Culture learning is likely to result in a highly personalized experience of special significance, resulting in learning new self-identities which were previously unfamiliar, as well as learning new perspectives on the culture being studied. Change is provocative. The individual is forced into sometimes painful self-examination and introspection, with frustrating anxiety and personal pain likely to result if the cultural differences are significant. The individual is confronted with new relationships as an outsider looking in. The individual learns to try out new, tentative attitudes through trial and error until the right responses are discovered. As a result, however, the individual has learned about self, about the home culture, and also about new identities in the host culture.

By comparing familiar and unfamiliar values, the individual learns to grow toward intercultural perspectives and develop alternative futures from which to choose. The very frustrations of adjustment lead to self-understanding and personal development in a counseling context. The related phenomena of role shock, culture fatigue, and future shock present the same opportunities and difficulties to each individual experimenting with new ideas. The principles of counseling transfer naturally to the educational goals of culture learning in helping the individual cope with the new cultural system.

The events of culture shock go through a series of stages which apply to the cross-cultural counseling process. Peter Adler (1975) has summarized descriptions of these stages into five categories. First, there is the initial contact with another culture where differences are intriguing, experiences exciting, behaviors experimental, and the individual is isolated by the home culture. Second, there is disintegration of the old, familiar cues where perceptions are impactful, emotions are confused, behaviors are to withdraw, and cultural differences begin to intrude on self-esteem. Third, there is the reintegration of new cues, where differences are perceived selectively, emotional responses are stressful, behaviors are more hostile, and rejection of the host culture likely to occur. Fourth, there is gradual autonomy where differences are legitimized, emotional responses more self-assured, behaviors more controlled, and the individual is able to negotiate with the new culture. Finally, there is the independence stage, where differences are valued, emotional response covers the full range, behaviors are self-actualizing, and the individual functions with normal effectiveness. It is important to recognize that culture learning and culture shock, like counseling, do not progress neatly and orderly from one stage to another. Sometimes the experience of culture shock is delayed far beyond the actual intercultural contact itself, while in other situations the process may be compressed into a very short period of time.

We are all travelers through time and the future is our host culture. Coffman (1978) has described culture shock as having six identifying features where counseling techniques will help individuals adapt to an increasingly uncertain future. These features include cue problems, value discrepancies, an emotional core, a set of typical symptoms, adjustment mechanisms, and a pattern of emergence over time. Coffman and Harris (1978) applied these features to the transition shock and deinstitutionalization of the mentally retarded citizen as well as to the foreign traveler. These examples, again, provide guidelines for the adaptive benefits of cross-cultural counseling principles to a variety of boundary crossing behaviors in our society.

When the cues or messages we receive in another culture are confusing, it is usually because familiar cues we have learned to depend on are missing, important cues are there but not recognized as important, or the same cue has a different meaning in the new culture. Much of the problem in cross-cultural counseling and culture shock involves learning to deal with new cues.

Familiar values define the meaning of good, desirable, beautiful, and valuable for each individual. Each culture values its own behaviors, attitudes, and ideas. While visitors to the host culture do not need to discard familiar values, there is a need to recognize alternative value systems in order to adapt to the new cultural system. The counseling skills of empathic

understanding become a bridge for transcending our own cultural boundaries.

Culture shock has an emotional core and produces a heightened emotional awareness of the new and unfamiliar surroundings, whether as a sudden and immediate event or as a gradual fatigue which occurs over a period of time. The emotional effect of this experience may include anxiety, depression, or even hostility ranging from mild uneasiness to the "white furies" of unreasonable and uncontrolled rage experienced by Europeans adjusting to tropical cultures.

The specific symptoms of culture shock focus on either dissatisfaction with the host culture or idealization of the home culture. The host culture is criticized as being peculiar, irrational, inefficient, and unfriendly. The visitor is likely to fear being taken advantage of, being laughed at or talked about, not being accepted, and wanting to spend more time around persons from the visitor's home culture. The visitor might develop a glazed, vacant, or absent-minded look nicknamed the "tropical stare," or withdraw for long periods of time by sleeping or being otherwise inactive. Minor annoyances in the host culture become exaggerated, and the few remaining links with the home culture become extraordinarily important.

Strategies for adjustment that worked in the home culture or familiar past might not work for the visitor in a new host culture, so that the visitor needs to spend a greater portion of energy in making adjustments and learning new strategies. Direct confrontation and openness might facilitate adjustment in the home culture but further complicate the problems in a new host culture. Defensive strategies might range from hostile stereotyping and scapegoating of the host culture to "going native" and rejecting the visitor's own home culture.

Culture shock is likely to extend over a long period of time, reappear in a variety of forms, and not be limited to an initial adjustment. As familiar cues are replaced by unfamiliar cues, the visitor experiences a genuine identity crisis, requiring either that the former identity be disowned or that the visitor create and maintain multiple identities for each of the several cultures encountered. In either case, the visitor is required to reintegrate, confront, and challenge the basic underlying assumptions of his or her personality.

Cross-cultural counseling suggests a variety of ways in which the visitor can learn to respond to a host culture and all situations of rapid social change or cultural disorientation. The applications of counseling techniques to intercultural situations, again, draws from Coffman's work on adjustment to culture shock situations.

First of all, the visitor needs to recognize that transition problems are usual and normal reactions to the stress of adjusting in a strange, new set-

ting. The visitor can be helped to recognize, understand, and accept the effects of adjustment in the context of a host culture support system. The maintenance of personal integrity and self-esteem becomes a primary goal. The visitor often experiences a loss of status in the new culture where the language, customs, and procedures are strange or unfamiliar. The visitor will need reassurance and support to maintain a healthy self-image. The adjustment needs to be allowed time to take place without pressures of urgency. Persons adjust at their own rate, recognizing that their reconciliation with the host culture, while painful, will enhance their later effectiveness. Recognizing the patterns of adjustment will help the visitor mark progress in developing new skills and insights. Depression and a sense of failure will be recognized as a stage of the adjustment process and not a permanent feature of the new experience. Labeling the symptoms of culture shock will help the visitor interpret emotional responses to stress in adjustment in perspective. The problem will become more specific and less ambiguous as a result. Being well adjusted at home does not assure an easier adjustment in a foreign culture. In some cases, visitors might find it even easier to adjust to a foreign culture, although, in extreme cases of maladjustment, visitors at home are likely to carry their problems with them to the new culture as well. Finally, while culture shock cannot be prevented, preparation for transition can ease the stress of adjustment. Preparation might include learning about the host culture, simulating situations to be encountered, and spending time with persons who are familiar with the host culture way of doing things. In all instances, the development of a support system is essential to helping the visitor reconstruct an appropriate identity or role in the new culture.

In reviewing the literature about culture shock, the opportunities for learning it presents, the process or stages of adjustment, the identifying features, and suggestions for minimizing the negative effects of culture shock, there is a recurring theme. Throughout the process, the individual is required to reevaluate his or her individual identity. The key for understanding and controlling the effect of culture shock is in counseling the visiting individual as well as understanding the host environment.

ROLE DIFFUSION AND IDENTITY FORMATION GOALS OF FUTURE COUNSELING

Any change will require learning new roles. The normally stressful conflicts become magnified by cultural differences. The greater the cultural differences the greater is the likelihood that barriers to communication will arise and that misunderstandings will occur, particularly in conditions of stress. The skills of adapting to cultural diversity can become sources of

great strength and an invaluable asset in helping persons learn from one another and about themselves. Intercultural encounters are likely to highlight otherwise hidden conflicts in our own behavior at a rate many times faster than when working within our own familiar culture. As indicated earlier in the three alternative scenarios, cultural diversity will have to be dealt with in one of three ways. Either the cultural diversity will have to be eliminated in a global synthesis, cultural diversity will have to be controlled in an authoritarian context, or cultural diversity will have to negotiate a balance of otherise conflicting cultural roles both on a global and a national scale.

Roles are normally defined as constellations of behaviors expected of an individual and appropriate to a particular social or cultural context. These roles are based on threads of continuous affect, perception, cognition, and values which define an order in the otherwise chaotic experiences of everyday life. To the extent that roles are diffusely defined and discontinuous with familiar values, the individual is faced with intrapsychic conflict. We can cope with our conflicting cultural roles because (1) we rank order them in terms of the importance of each role for our own identity, (2) most identities apply only in certain contexts and are constantly changing, and (3) these rankings and the identities themselves are constantly changing. The roles we value most highly define our "primary" identities that we have learned gradually since childhood or to which we have been "converted" as adults (Singer, 1977).

One of the most important issues of the future is, therefore, likely to involve role diffusion, experienced by the individual's adjustment in a variety of conflicting roles over a period of time. In the attempts to differentiate the cultural groups in our society from one another, the role of cultural identity has been a primary source of confusion, as pointed out by Atkinson, Morten, and Sue (1979). A variety of terms have been used to explain how and why these groups differ from one another. The term "race" or "racial" has been used to differentiate groups according to biological differences, physical characteristics, or genetic origin; but they do not explain differences in social behavior where similar patterns cut randomly across racial lines. The term "ethnic" is derived from social or cultural heritage a group shares among themselves relating to customs, language, religion, and habits from one generation to the next. The term "culture" is, again, different, where members of the same racial and/or ethnic group might still be "culturally" different or there may be many different cultures within the same ethnic group. A fairly recent controversy is whether age, life style, socioeconomic status, sex role, and other such affiliations should be referred to as "culturally" different from one another. In the relationships between cultures, one group will often tend to dominate the other. A variety

of terms such as "culturally deprived" or "culturally disadvantaged" have emerged to identify the less dominant culture or "minority" culture group. In usage, these terms have tended to take on a pejorative meaning that is frequently offensive to the less powerful or exploited group. More neutral concepts such as "culturally different" or "culturally separate" have been used to avoid the offensive connotations.

Groups may coexist with little or no interaction between them in a mode of "separatism." Groups may benefit from one another in a relationship of "symbiosis." The relation may be such that what one group gains is what another group loses. This is "parasitism." One group may harm the other group in a relationship of "antibiosis." The ideal and most desired relationship between groups is symbiosis (Maruyama, 1973). There are two kinds of symbiosis, "organismic" and "mutualistic." In organistic symbiosis (Pribram, 1949) a hierarchical center of planning is set up and the component groups conform to directions from a central location. In the mutualistic planning alternative the ideas originate from the component groups and are pooled for mutual adjustment. Counseling has earned an unfavorable reputation in the past by aligning its resources with nonsymbiotic relationships between cultural groups in our society. Our task for the future is to facilitate intercultural symbiosis through counseling.

Until the mid 1960s, the counseling profession demonstrated minimum interest or involvement in the needs and problems of minority groups but, rather, focused on the needs of the "average" individual which was interpreted according to dominant culture norms and values (Atkinson et al., 1979). Likewise, in the delivery of mental health services, the needs of minority populations were frequently overlooked and underserved (Pedersen, 1977b; Atkinson et al., 1979), but during the decade of the 1960s it became apparent that the variety of cultural groups would require equal recognition (Aubrey, 1977). The number of articles related to minority group counseling in the 1970s increased dramatically, as did the special concerns of the aged, drug users, gays, handicapped, prison inmates, students, and women. The Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and political activism regarding the war in Viet Nam no doubt also contributed to the consciousness raising attention to minority groups. The power of these newly organized, special interest groups had a profound effect on the counseling profession by emphasizing the cultural-environmental contextual factors impinging on individual development (Ivey & Authier, 1978). Demographic data suggest that blacks and Hispanics are expected to increase their relative proportion of the population between now and 1990 at an accelerated rate (General Electric, 1978), and other special interest groups are, likewise, consolidating their combined influence to ensure a symbiotic relationship. This type of relationship between cultural groups is essential if intercultural har-

mony is to be preserved.

The idealistic promises of the Declaration of Independence regarding human rights and principles of equality have confronted us with a basic contradiction. Americans believe that while we are created equal the equality does not last. Those who make use of their opportunities and develop their skill can enjoy special advantages. The concept of equality is diluted to a doctrine of "equal opportunity" defending the right to become unequal by competing with one another. Instead of bringing individuals together, the equal opportunity doctrine sets one person against another. Our contemporary dilemma results from a social democratic trend bringing about a state of equality among nations, races, sexes, and generations. We have not yet adjusted to the impact of equality, with programs to ensure equality serving to increase expectations among all groups for higher standards of living, access to better housing, medical care, opportunities for higher education, guaranteed employment, and old age security.

The dilemma of our time is that we are not prepared to live with each other as equals (Dreikurs, 1972). Our traditions are based on inappropriate autocratic principles challenging the power and superiority of each group by the other. It is difficult to restrain our capacity to overpower and control one another regardless of race, creed, sex, and age. Only as equals can we live in symbiotic harmony as illustrated repeatedly throughout history. There needs to be a shift of emphasis from the intrapsychic adjustment model of dealing with culturally different clients to a recognition of the effects social oppression have had on the profession of counseling, and a more activistic interpretation of counseling functions through direct community involvment.

ALTERNATIVE ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT COUNSELING GOALS FOR THE FUTURE

Marsella (1978) reviews the literature on modernization that describes the prototype of modern man as synonymous with "Western man," incorporating the values and assumptions of Western culture. As Marsella also points out, however, the modern person of the future is going to be very different from contemporary modern persons. As we have already indicated, the modern person will have to live more harmoniously with nature and with other persons than has been the case in the past. There is some evidence that the value assumptions of Western society are less suited to guiding us toward harmonious relationships than the value assumptions of non-Western societies. In order to increase its effectiveness in a multicultural society, counseling will need to consider the full range of Western and non-Western value assumptions.

There is some evidence that many of the underlying assumptions of our contemporary mental health service delivery system reflect the social, economic, political, and cultural values of Western dominant cultures (Pedersen, 1977a, 1977b, 1979). In some cultures, the notion of "counseling" has gained a very negative reputation as the servant of a dominant majority seeking to maintain the status quo. Some activists who do carry out the functions of counseling would be offended to be labeled as "counselors." Part of the reason for this dissonance is in the dissonance between basic assumptions of Western and non-Western cultures. These assumptions have been based on models of "modernization" which have themselves been based on those Euro–American dominant culture values that have been idealized in Western and non–Western cultures alike. The future effectiveness of counseling will require that it accommodate the indigenous value systems of Western and non-Western societies in a wide range of available alternatives.

Increased attention to non-Western alternatives has resulted from the popularization of Asian philosophies and religions, adaptations based on Asian techniques such as meditation, increased interdisciplinary interest in Asian psychological functions, dissatisfaction with the culturally narrow assumptions of existing systems, and the increased political, economic, and social power of non-Western countries in a world perspective. Tart (1975), Diaz-Guerrero (1977), Sampson (1977), and others (Pedersen, Lonner, & Draguns, 1976) have pointed out the cultural bias in counseling. I would like to consider five examples of how non-Western psychology might be better suited to guide counseling in a multicultural environment than the assumptions of Western society.

1. Western culture emphasizes objectivity and the scientific method of discovering the truth as more valid and reliable than subjective and spiritual access to knowledge. The rules of logic and replication have helped sponsor technological advancement, but at the expense of oversimplifying the role of humanity in a cosmic and spiritual perspective in the view of many non–Western societies. The criteria of reality for Buddhism, for example, does not clearly differentiate between the actual and the ideal, fact and fantasy. Existence from this subjective perspective has been compared to a river whose source is birth and whose goal is death, winding through a continuous process of existence in which consciousness unites all persons with one another and brings together the different moments within our collective and individual experiences.

The components of this subjective view change in relationship to one another giving the illusion of constancy, of ego, or of an unchanging reality (Pedersen, 1977a). In looking at the issues of controversy which separate Western from many non-Western assumptions, it is useful to recognize the

challenge of subjective, intuitive, and illogical access to knowledge eluding the logical categories of a rationally defined structure. The validity of cross-cultural counseling in the future will depend on accommodating both the objective and the subjective espistemologies. There are many kinds of logic and epistemology, and our choice of one epistemology over another is more likely based on factors outside, beyond, and independent from logic. Our social and historical environment generates specific feelings which generate goals and promote the purposes of our intramural world view to the exclusion of alternatives.

The favorite epistemology of Western dominant cultures is being challenged by alternatives preferred by a variety of minority groups favoring non-hierarchical mutualism rather than competition, harmonious balance in nature rather than technocentric development, and multiple truths rather than a single standard of reality. A modern theory of knowledge needs a series of alternatives which may prepare the cross-cultural counselor to include multiple epistemologies in preparing us to live and work in a multicultural future by being exposed to a variety of existing epistemologies, minimizing psychological dependency upon any single epistemology, developing a habit of questioning established theories, and inventing new cultural patterns that synthesize alternatives being applied in the cultures around us.

2. Not all cultures value the individualized perspective as definitive of human behavior but might even see attachment to individualism as a direct handicap to attaining enlightenment and a diversion from the attainment of more important spiritual goals. The notion of *atman* in India, for example, defines the self as participating in unity with all things and not limited by the changing manifestations of an illusory and temporary ·phenomenal world. From the corporate perspective, alternative to the individual perspective, identity is composed of a balance between self and non-self, internal and external, individual and relational components. In many non-Western cultures, identity is not one's private property but is attached to a web of human relationships to the extent that the personal pronoun in some languages, such as Japanese, is not even expressed (Pedersen, 1977a). English is, perhaps, the only language where the personal pronoun "I" is always capitalized. The locus of cultural change or resistance in many cultures is not the isolated individual but the circle of humanity through interpersonal relationships that are themselves situation centered and socially controlled. The emphasis of a counselor, then, would more appropriately be on the individual's appropriate role relationship to other persons and conformity to social reality rather than forcing reality to conform, emphasizing self-transcendence rather than self-assertion.

Through their emphasis on competition between individuals for status, recognition, and measured achievement, many of the rules of industrialized

society impose an individualistic bias which conflicts with relational values. An adequate counseling strategy would need to accommodate either or both value systems as appropriate. By contrast, Western traditions are based on the self as ego, or the independent observer and potential controller of a world which is experienced as profoundly separate from self (Watts, 1963); while other traditions emphasize self-transcendence rather than self-assertion, harmony with nature, and integration into a social totality.

It is difficult to see the impact of our own cultural heritage on our point of view because, as Edward Hall (1966) pointed out, one's own cultural assumptions are best hidden from one's self. That perspective is particularly true for Western psychology (Diaz-Guerrero, 1977). There has been a tendency for counseling to search for the failing, evil, or disturbed personality to the neglect of the surrounding system. The person who requires a continuing system of supportive, interdependent relations is judged weak, sick, or failing without recognizing the mental health maintenance role of the collectives surrounding that individual as *part* of that individual's identity. One example of the self-contained, individualistic perspective might be establishing the androgynous individual as an ideal type, as a sign of good health where each individual is self-contained and self-sufficient. Sampson (1977) elaborates:

> In the present context, androgyny as self-contained individualism and morality as in-dependence or transcendence from collective loyalties may be related to high self-esteem and personal success. But in the long run, how can a society manage its complex problems of energy and population policy and its welfare programs, for example, while supporting so individualistic an outlook? How can human welfare be based on people's detachment from others and their seeking to be self-contained? How can a democratic system of governance survive when collective interests and recognition of vital interdependencies are felt to be too constraining? Will psychology be in the forefront of tomorrow's problem solving or remain in the backwater, a chronicler of today's troubles and an ideological contributor to our cultural breakdown? [p. 780]

Our future will depend on the ability to go beyond individualistic assumptions in coordinating the relational perspective of other cultures with our own criteria of good mental health.

3. In many non-Western cultures, there is a greater acceptance of dependence among intrafamily relationships even as adults, without embarrassment or judgments of immaturity. The goal of maturity in India has been described as satisfying and continuous dependency within the family and society (Pedersen, 1977a). In Chinese society, when there is a fight between brothers, both are blamed. The older is blamed for not giving in to the younger, while the younger is scolded for not respecting the older, but both are punished for their aggressively independent behavior (Tseng and Hsu, 1971). In Hawaiian society, the term *ho'oponopono* ("to make things

right") refers to a system of counseling where all members of an extended family are assembled to resolve conflict in a ritualized format that emphasizes interdependency (Pukui, Haertig, & Lee, 1972). In Japanese society, the concept of *ie*, or family system, implies closely guarded family relationships in the context of total involvement, and the term *amae* emphasizes the model of dependence by a child towards parents for all ideal social relationships.

There is a tendency for adolescents in Western families to leave home to seek their fortune outside the family. The separation of family members from one another in this way has been adopted as the tragic theme of literature and film, and is not considered at all desirable. In Western cultures, adulthood becomes the symbolic goal of having achieved self-reliance, power, achievement, responsibility, and identity fulfillment. In the vacuum left by the "absent family" in the West, institutions have tended to take over the familial functions, sometimes displacing the family or competing with familial interdependency as final authority. Reality does not depend on an individual's mastery of others to advance and achieve. In an interdependent model, reality becomes, rather, a religiously defined experience where people interact with one another, past, present, and future, as well as with the indigenous spiritual belief system (Lambo, 1978). There is a unity of life and time which provides the necessary balance and foundation of mental health and social well being. Opposites are combined in a harmonious web of natural and supernatural, physical and mental, conscious and unconscious through a dynamic interdependency. By analogy, other non-Western cultures have found an acceptable model for interdependency in the family. In many ways, the "family" in many Asian and non-Western societies is as primary a social unit for their cultures as the "individual" is in many Western cultures. It may be useful, for the future of conseling, to reexamine the role of the family as a model for defining and maintaining mental health in the future.

In a study of Asian theories of personality, Pedersen (1977a) contends that the psychological construct "personality" is so dominated by individualistic assumptions that it can only be applied to cultures effectively where individualism is an important value priority. Westermeyer (1976), likewise, contends that personality has had an unjustifiably important role in defining mental health services from a dominant culture perspective with little demonstrated predictive or pragmatic value in cultures where individualism is not favored. More emphasis should be placed on interpersonal relations in relation to intrapsychic events to provide a balanced perspective for counseling in cultures where dependency relationships are a favored mode of maintaining mental health.

Counseling is likely to play an even more important role in the future

than in the past, demonstrated in part by the recent popularization of mental health and psychological approaches to social problems. Psychology has become a new religion, ideology, and justifier for the full range of social programs. That trend is likely to increase still further as the stress of coping with our uncertain future increases, and as special interest groups compete even more vigorously for the world's limited resources. Counseling can serve to isolate, atomize, individualize, and alienate us from one another toward chaos and authoritarianiam, or it can help us refocus the necessary and fundamental interdependencies from within our various cultures.

4. There is an assumption that a "modernized" system is also a "Westernized" system which has distorted our understanding of indigenous mental health resources in non-Western cultures that define the problem and solution within their own cultural perspective. Some of the products of modernization, consequently, have resulted in increasing the distance between aspiration and achievement, resulting in dissatisfaction, frustration, low self-esteem, marginality, alienation, and social deviance from both traditional and modern values (Triandis, Malpass, & Davidson, 1973). The net result of equating modernization with Westernization has distorted history, and a continuation of this tendency would be disastrous for our future. It is ironic that, while non-Western thought and philosophies are having an increasingly profound effect on Western culture, non-Western cultures continue to emulate Western values through economic, political, and social forms (Marsella, 1978). From the Western perspective, there is a concern that the emphasis on technology has eroded spiritual values in society, while non-Western cultures are concerned that the benefits of modern technology be available to them as they are to the world's industrialized nations (Mundy-Castle, 1976).

There are many fundamental assumptions in Westernization which do not necessarily apply to modernization as we look to the future. For example, there is an activist orientation implicit in Western values that change is preferred to no-change when given a choice between the two alternatives. When confronted with a problem where the solution is ambiguous, the Westerner will be likely to *do* something. Under the same conditions, persons from many non-Western cultures would have been socialized to restrain themselves and avoid a direct response as the favored mode of dealing with the problem. A foreign student returned home to his non-Western family and, seeking to justify the expense of their sending him abroad, spoke at length about how much the experience had changed him. His more traditional family was horrified.

As another example, there is an emphasis in psychology on the covariance of cause and effect. In Hinduism, by contrast, the categories of cause and effect are not separated but are, rather, part of the same phenomena observed

from a different perspective. In defining a psychological problem of delivering a mental health service, the effort of sorting out the cause and effect in each counseling interview may be the wrong approach. Perhaps a less mechanistic, alternative approach to the totality of a culturally different client's environment, which is less problem-oriented and more sensitive to the dynamic interrelationships of cause with effect, will increase our sensitivity to the essential role of both aspects in a balanced totality. It would be a serious mistake to reduce counseling to "problem solving" by disrupting the dynamic balance of social forces already existing in the client's environment.

In mental health as in other forms of development, there is a tendency away from independent and autocratic guidelines and increasing demands for more emphasis on interdependencies, joint ventures, and mutualism between partners in the development enterprise. There is a greater emphasis on viewing the social event from within the other person's perspective and acknowledging the importance of alternative values. Self-examination and testing of basic assumptions from a psychological perspective are likely to be included in most forms of modern development. Cultures where self-examination has been important have developed resources that favor introspection as an important, essential, and, in some cases, almost exclusive mode of mental health maintenance. Not only will we need to develop skill in this area to work with members of those cultures, but we may discover the validity of introspective approaches for dealing with counseling in a broad range of other cultures as well.

Triandis (1979) points out how the first two million years of human evolution emphasized the struggle with nature for survival where the man-nature relationship was central. This was followed by an industrial revolution where efficient production of material goods became essential. The future is likely to emphasize, as we have already discussed, the development of social structures that increase harmony where counseling will have a major role. The Western tendency has been to divide the world into categories and experience ourselves as isolated egos. This view contrasts sharply with the more mystical alternative view where all things and events are interrelated as different aspects of the same ultimate reality. A more holistic view of mental health will be required to cope with the future in a multicultural world.

5. Western cognition is based on objects of consciousness rather than consciousness itself, where religious and spiritual goals have a more dominant role. Non-Western psychologies have frequently been more comfortable with the teaching of spiritual reality unlimited by the physical and tacticle world around us. Capra (1975) has popularized the radical notion that the spiritual explanation of the universe in non-Western thought provides a

more adequate basis for understanding our environment, as it is being revealed by advances in quantum physics, rather than the more materialistic teachings of Western thought.

Non-Western thought describes levels of reality external to our ordinary state of conscious perception which are dominated by illusion (Tart, 1975). By contrast, Western thought assumes more frequently that our behavior is determined by the physical processes of our nature and surrounding environment. If physics is leading us "back" toward mysticism of the early Greeks, where the assumptions of modern science have been said to begin, the difference is that the earlier mystical insights were intuitive while the more recent return to those insights is based on precise experimentation and rigorous mathematical formalism.

The emphasis on consciousness itself as the basis of reality describes a world where scientific discovery can be in harmony with spiritual aims and religious belief through the medium of the "unity" and "interrelation" of all phenomena in an intrinsically dynamic universe. The further science brings us into the submicroscopic world, the more apparent the reality of inseparable, interacting, and ever-moving components emphasizing the interrelationship of forces which hold our world together both physically and psychologically. As the evidence increases for this point of view from a scientific perspective, it will become easier to make applications of the principles in our psychological perspective.

Even Western thought, while discounting the reality of phenomena that cannot be observed or measured, will, in a somewhat contradictory mode, emphasize the importance of concepts such as love, charity, intelligence, and pleasure which are inferred from our behavior but which cannot, in fact, be measured accurately. There is a linear assumption in Western thought which moves ahead in a single direction. This linear view of time separates the past, which is dead and gone, from the future, which does not yet exist, leaving an infinitesimally narrow point on the continuum which fades from the future to the past with desperate urgency. A more adequate inclusion of spiritual insights into mental health will enrich the perspective of cross-cultural counseling by cosmic proportions.

PRIORITIES FOR PLANNED DEVELOPMENT
OF COUNSELING RESOURCES

If there is a future for humanity, it will require us to reconcile our cultural

differences and accommodate a variety of value alternatives. If we look at the range of relationships we describe as cultural and generate guidelines from cross-cultural research, we should be able to generate the insight and skill to facilitate increased harmony between members of different cultural groups through counseling. If we further extrapolate what we are learning from bringing cultural groups together to the large variety of other identities and special interest clusters in society, we might apply cross-cultural counseling insight and skill to the whole range of intergroup contact beyond ethnic and nationality differences.

There are two important implications that would follow logically. First of all, all intergroup or interpersonal relationships are, to some extent, cross-cultural with a variety of value perspectives that complement or contradict one another. If we consider the variety of roles each of us fills over a period of time, it might even be reasonable to consider the complete individual "personality" to be, to some extent, multicultural. In any case, there is a vitally important role for cross-cultural counseling in facilitating the harmonious interaction of cultures, groups, and individuals with different identities. Second, if the role of cross-cultural psychology and counseling is to be as pervasive as it would seem, the consequence would be termination of "cross-cultural" counseling as a separate area. The focus of cross-cultural counseling would more likely be absorbed into the fields of social sciences as an essential and definitive aspect. The net result, then, would be that all counseling would become cross-cultural, with deliberate attention to the cultural values dimension of mental health.

There is, already, a great deal of interdisciplinary cooperation in the areas of cross-cultural counseling with joint topics across fields and disciplines as an example. In the study of specific problems, we can expect more emphasis on multimethod, multicultural measurement of all theoretical constructs. Cooperation between disciplines and fields will increase the likelihood that our conclusions are not method-bound by the implicit assumptions of any single field or perspective. The result could be a total realignment of the traditional disciplines as we now know them. In many ways, the barriers between fields and disciplines function more rigidly than other cultural barriers and, by analogy, suffer from discriminatory attitudes as well. The application of counseling skills and the concerns of mental health might be integrated, then, into a wide range of legal, political, economic, and philosophical directions. The enormous vested interests by traditional fields and disciplines in their continued existence would prevent diversification from happening as long as possible, but the pressing problems of our survival in the future may force the issue.

Until recently, most mental health professionals have been trained in psychology, sociology, anthropology, or social sciences, and the topics of

concern have been largely defined by past and present events. More recently, there is a tendency to apply existing knowledge from several disciplines toward solving community problems beyond the descriptive and explanatory levels of analysis and move on to *a priori* predictions based on what we already know to be true. There is likely to be more emphasis on prediction of future problems before they happen so that they can be anticipated and, if possible, avoided. Through technology, we have the capacity to apply systems analysis to future problems, and the accelerating rate of social change may well require accurate anticipation of problems. In order to accomplish that task, the input variables will have to be carefully defined and programmed to include biological, behavioral, and social phenomena in an analysis of the total system. The future of primary prevention in counseling will require accurate assessment of the cultural perspectives that define the total system in a multicultural society. The efficient mobilization of technology together with identification of culturally accurate perspectives promises greater capacity to anticipate and prevent mental health problems before they occur.

There has been a tendency to base our comprehension of human social behavior on historically located principles within cultures, rather than psychological universals that are fundamental to understanding human behavior across cultures. There will need to be networks and linkages between networks throughout the fields of mental health and the community, bridging the particularistic and limited special interests in our society. While pointing out the dangers of depending on "pseudoetic" characteristics, where the emic or particularistic character of a culture are generalized universally without evidence, Triandis (1979) highlights the search for cultural universals as a primary task of cross-cultural research in the future. While the study of particular cultures has helped protect counseling from *underestimating* the importance and impact of cultural values, the study of cultural universals will help protect counseling from *overestimating* the differences which is just as likely to result in racist policy.

Draguns (1977) emphasizes the importance of drawing practical implications from what we already know about culture and mental health, and applying those implications to the practical concerns of service and treatment with more precision than is now being done. Rather than focus research efforts on the "symptom," Draguns suggests that we expand our focus in two directions: inward, toward the subjective intrapsychic system of personal experience; and outward, toward the interpersonal network connecting patient, professional, institution, and community. Counseling procedures need to be modified to match the values of divergent cultures, rather than follow a unimodal generalization that incorporates all groups from a dominant culture perspective. Adaptive coping by members of one culture might

be maladaptive when applied to another culture, especially if the coping is adaptive for dominant culture and applied to members of a minority group. At present, it is still unclear the extent to which psychological theory can be applied across cultures. While Vontress (1976) points out that rapport is a culturally generalized priority for all counseling, the appropriate techniques are likely to differ from one culture to the next. There is also no adequate procedure or instrument to measure counseling effectiveness in a variety of cultural environments.

Counselor education has been criticized by many minority authors (Pine, 1972) for not enrolling more minority students in courses of counselor training, causing many programs across the country to actively recruit minority students to their programs. Atkinson (1977) points out the difficulty of identifying sufficient numbers of minority candidates with academic grades and achievement scores equal to nonminority peers (Samuda, 1975). This difficulty has led programs to develop quotas or special selection criteria for admitting lower scoring minority group members. The Bakke decision in California successfully challenged the legitimacy of double standards for admission, and suggested that, in the future, a more adequate solution will need to be developed for increasing the numbers of minority group members in the mental health professions without discriminating against others. Atkinson (1977) suggests that, in addition to including more minority group members, we also need to examine the content of what is being taught in counselor education courses. More cross-cultural counseling courses need to be developed with more multiculturally sensitive content materials in the courses. The textbooks and teaching materials need to reflect a variety of cultural perspectives for training the adequately prepared counselor.

At present, there are very few opportunities to obtain a major, minor, or even a specialization in cross-cultural counseling. There are, perhaps, dozens of individual courses on cross-cultural counseling scattered throughout the counselor training programs around the country, but very few coordinated programs of cross-cultural counseling exist at present. The University of Utah offers a Ph.D. and the University of Washington offers a Masters degree in Transcultural Nursing, the University of Miami offers a program in the medical school for transcultural mental health, and McGill University offers a Masters degree in Transcultural Psychiatry. It seems incredible that the emphasis on culture and mental health has not resulted in more adequate opportunities for professionals in training to pursue a specialization in the field. In the future, universities will need to develop support for coordinated programs of study in cross-cultural counseling.

Cross-cultural counseling will need to be more activist in orientation through outreach and consultation programs, ombudsmen and change

agent functions, and facilitators of indigenous support system roles to supplement and largely replace the office or clinic-centered, scheduled interviews. Likewise, training programs are going to need to involve more resources from the culturally diverse community. Experience with the Peace Corps training programs (Harrison & Hopkins, 1967) have demonstrated that training programs are often more effective vehicles of cross-cultural preparation than university-based alternatives. In addition to cognitive content, affective experiences need to be incorporated into the curriculum to increase awareness of cultural differences in personalized ways. Materials are available through simulation of case methods or experience-based human relations training programs (Brislin & Pedersen, 1976). In view of the multicultural composition of modern society and the mainstreaming tendencies of schools and societies, it is unlikely that any counselor will escape working with culturally different clients. However, as Spiegel (1976) points out, there is no established constituency for a program in ethnicity and mental health, and none of the mental health professions are actively pursuing multiethnic approaches (Aubrey, 1977).

Industrialized societies, according to a General Electric study (1978), are encountering a "new reformation" of individual and societal values shifting from uniformity and centralization toward diversity, pluralism, and decentralization; from the concept of independence toward the concept of interdependence; from considerations of quantity ("more") toward considerations of quality ("better"); from mastery over nature toward living in harmony with it; from the primacy of technical efficiency toward considerations of social justice and equity; from authoritarianism and dogmatism toward participation; and from the dictates of organizational convenience toward the aspirations of self-development in an organization's membership. In response to this predicted future of our society, the field of counseling has several alternatives (Toffler, 1971). The traditionalist will pretend that there is really no change occurring and that things will remain essentially as they have been, and risk becoming less and less relevant to a multicultural clientele. The specialist will focus in one or another area of mental health and gamble that the selected specialty will continue to be relevant in a period of rapid social change. The reversionist will seek to preserve the status quo by reinforcing modifications of existing methods and escape to the relatively tranquil past. The super simplifier will seek a neat equation or single solution to the complicated problems of coping with a multicultural future. The "encapsulated counselor" (Wrenn, 1962) will escape to a technique-oriented job definition that neatly avoids the problem altogether. All of these are victims of the future.

Alternatives discussed in this chapter suggest that we move toward symbiotic and pragmatic alternatives for the future, seeking alternatives to the

authoritarian or catastrophic scenario in restructuring our society, building on the adaptive techniques now available to facilitate individual adaptation to culture shock, developing alternative assumptions from non-Western societies that might apply to our future condition, and, finally, identifying specific modifications that will be predictably required based on what we already know about the changes going on around us. There are alternative futures for cross-cultural counseling, with some more acceptable than others. It is important that we define our choices and declare our commitment to the rights of every individual from every culture for mental health.

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